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THE WAR OF THE POLISH SUCCESSION

H.R.H.
THE CROWN PRINCE
OF SIAM

H. Morse Stephens

University of California

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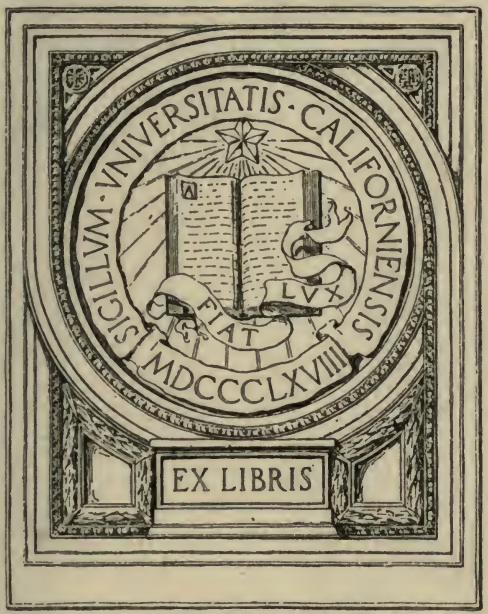
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THE WAR
OF
THE POLISH SUCCESSION

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THE WAR OF THE POLISH SUCCESSION

BY

H.R.H. THE CROWN PRINCE OF SIAM

Maha Vajiravudh
became King of Siam (1910)

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

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PREFACE

THE object of this brief Sketch is to lay before the student a few facts about the War of the Polish Succession, collected from various sources, and selected with the idea of throwing light on the subject from as many aspects as possible.

For the genealogies I am indebted to Mr. Arthur Hassall, to whom I must here express my best thanks for his valuable assistance to me in preparing the work. I also take this opportunity of thanking Mr. R. E. Olivier for his kindness in reading through the proof-sheets.

Reference has been made to, and much information obtained from, the following works:—

(1) *The Balance of Power*, by Arthur Hassall, M.A.

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(2) *A Handbook of European History, 476–1871, Chronologically arranged*, by the same Author.

(3) *The Pupils of Peter the Great*, by R. Nisbet Bain.

(4) *Une Ambassade Française en Orient sous Louis XV*, par Albert Vandal.

(5) *Elisabeth Farnese*, by Edward Armstrong, M.A.

(6) *Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon*, by William Coxe.

(7) *Frederick the Great*, by Thomas Carlyle.

It is hoped that the book may prove useful not only to members of the University who are reading for the History 'School,' but also to all who are interested in the affairs of Europe in the eighteenth century.

M. V.

CHRIST CHURCH,
Oxford, 1901.

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THE POLISH SUCCESSION

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS,
Elector of Saxony, 1694–1733; King of Poland, 1697–1733,
m. d. of the Margrave of Bayreuth

|

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS,
Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, 1733–1763,
m. MARY JOSEPHA, d. of the Emperor JOSEPH.

STANISLAUS LESZCZYNSKI,
King of Poland, 1707–1709; re-elected 1733

|

MARY = LOUIS XV of France.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS

England	*France*	*The Empire*
George II	Louis XV	Charles VI
1727–1760.	1715–1774.	1711–1740.
The Papacy	*Spain*	*Portugal*
Clement XI	Philip V	John VI
1730–1740.	1700–1746.	1706–1751.
Sweden	*Russia*	*Turkey*
Frederick I	Anna Ivanovna	Mahmoud I
1720–1751.	1730–1740.	1730–1754.
Sardinia	*Prussia*	*Denmark*
Charles Emanuel I	Frederick William I	Christian VI
1730–1773.	1713–1740.	1730–1746.

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INTRODUCTION

The Second Treaty of Vienna.

In 1731 the Second Treaty of Vienna was signed. A European war was averted, France was isolated, and for the moment Bourbonism was checked. It was confidently expected by many that a period of peace in Europe had really begun, a peace which would remain undisturbed for many years. And, indeed, there seemed to be a reasonable ground for this belief, seeing that there were no less than three statesmen, namely, Fleury in France, Walpole in England, and Patiño in Spain, who were in favour of the preservation of peace. As the relations between the three countries mentioned appeared then to be friendly enough, outwardly the political situation

looked reassuring; but, as a matter of fact, 'the calm of 1732 was the calm which preceded a storm[1],' a storm which, on closer examination, we find was already brewing.

The War Party in France.

In France there existed a war party, the views of which seemed to grow more bellicose and more popular with the nation every year. Moreover, the King, Louis XV, was determined to place his father-in-law, Stanislaus Leszczynski, on the throne of Poland whenever a vacancy occurred. The war party strongly advocated a union with Spain, as well as an alliance with the small German States and Sardinia. The former policy would bring ruin to England's commerce, while the friendship with the small German States would prevent an outbreak of hostility on the part of the Emperor.

Elisabeth Farnese.

Elisabeth Farnese, the Spanish Queen, saw the desirability of an alliance with France for the furtherance of her aggres-

[1] Hassall, *Balance of Power.*

sive schemes and dynastic aims. Don Carlos, her son, was already in Parma, and the Duchy of Tuscany was being occupied by 6,000 Spanish troops. Even then the Queen was not quite satisfied, but as she hated Fleury she would not as yet make a treaty with France. The French Government was anxious for a treaty with Spain, in order to unite the Bourbons against England. There existed between France and England commercial and colonial rivalry which was bound before long to result in a collision between the two Powers; and as both endeavoured to secure the Spanish alliance, the ambassadors of the two rivals were kept extremely busy in Madrid. Walpole and Patiño were both anxious to preserve peace; the former in order to maintain the House of Hanover on the throne of Great Britain, and the latter in order to allow Spain to gain strength and improve her navy. Owing to the influence of Elisabeth Farnese, and the growth of

the anti-English feeling, Spain suddenly changed her policy and declared openly against England, and for France. The Queen was tired of her unprofitable friendship with England, for Walpole gave no encouragement to her designs; while France, on the other hand, incited her against the Emperor. Besides these purely dynastic considerations, the anti-English feeling was aggravated by the commercial disputes between England and Spain, which had grown much more serious of late. There were many circumstances to cause irritation between the two countries, and in England the 'Craftsman' in the hands of an unscrupulous opposition was employed in attempting to force Walpole into a war with Spain.

Eastern Europe.

Nor was the situation in Eastern Europe reassuring. At the end of 1731, a treaty was proposed between Austria, Russia, and Prussia, the object of which was to defeat the candidature of Stanislaus Leszczynski to the Polish throne, and to settle the

succession question. It was never ratified, but it served to show that Louis XV's candidate would meet with opposition. As has already been mentioned, Louis was determined upon the election of his father-in-law, hoping thereby that Austria and Prussia would be kept in check, and that French influence would become dominant in Eastern Europe. The Court of Versailles reckoned also on the friendship of Sweden and Turkey. Austria and England, as hereditary enemies of the Bourbons, were strongly opposed to Louis' scheme; but England, having but little to lose in Poland, was content with aiding the Emperor by purely diplomatic means. Austria, however, was more closely concerned, and naturally looked to Russia, with which power she had been allied since 1726, knowing how deeply the Muscovite Government was interested in the affairs and the future of Poland. A sharp struggle took place between the representatives of France and Austria

Russian schemes in Poland.

in St. Petersburg, the latter being assisted by the English minister. Those at the head of Russian affairs were themselves divided. The Vice-Chancellor Ostermann was the chief champion of Austria, and found a troublesome opponent in Marshal Münnich, who had been won over by Magnan, the French Chargé d'Affaires. Indeed, Münnich, a vain and ambitious man, went so far as to offer, on his own responsibility, assistance to France in the shape of troops and ships in return for ample subsidies. He also suggested that, in order to ensure success, the Grand Chamberlain Biren, the Empress Anne's favourite, should be won over by means of a large bribe. An experienced statesman like Ostermann found no difficulty in exposing the fallacies of the scheme proposed by such a political meddler as Münnich, and an alliance between France and Russia soon became quite out of the question, the Cabinet once for all rejecting the notion of a French alliance,

and deciding still further to strengthen that already existing with Austria.

France and Sweden.

Sweden, in the meantime, had been approached by France. Not only were rich subsidies promised, but the prospect of recovering the lost Baltic provinces was also held out to her, provided she took the part of Stanislaus; but much to the relief of Russia and Austria as well as England, she decided to remain neutral.

Augustus the Strong and the Polish Succession Question.

Not the least interesting of those personages concerned with the question of the Polish succession was the King of Poland himself. Augustus II—surnamed 'the Strong'—had ruled, or rather misruled, Poland for five and thirty years, and was now failing in health. He was very anxious to secure the succession for his own son Augustus, Electoral Prince of Saxony, and it is edifying to see to what lengths he was willing to go. First of all, he attempted to gain the Empress Anna over to his project; and with this object he approached Biren, to whom he

Augustus and Biren.

promised a large sum of money, together with the Duchy of Courland, if the Empress should be won over. Biren, under pressure of the Austrian and English ministers, had already refused the offers made to him by the French Chargé d'Affaires, but the splendour of this new offer so dazzled him, that for a moment he wavered. However, as Russia, Austria, and Prussia were at this time as much opposed to the Prince of Saxony as to the French candidate, Biren had not the courage to close with the King of Poland's offer. Finding himself thus foiled, Augustus next attempted to bribe the Prussian King to whom he offered Polish Prussia, Courland, and even a part of great Poland, showing himself willing to abandon a part of the country that his son might become possessor of the rest. Frederick William was almost tempted into accepting this offer, but fear of Austria and Russia prevented him from doing so, and once more Augustus was

Augustus and Frederick William of Prussia.

disappointed. Now grown desperate, he urged, in the last resort, that Russia, Austria, and Prussia should all be satisfied by a division of his country—in other words, the ruler of Poland suggested a definite partition of the country that he had sworn to defend. However, he had no time to carry out this infamous scheme, for on February 1, 1733, Augustus died. Europe, as we have already seen, was like a mine ready to be fired at any moment, and the death of the King of Poland was the spark that caused the long expected explosion.

Death of Augustus, 1733.

CHAPTER I

THE ELECTION TO THE POLISH CROWN

The death of Augustus II, 1733.

On the death of Augustus II in February, 1733, the question of the Polish succession, which had long perplexed the statesmen of Europe, became a matter of immediate moment. France was then in the midst of a struggle with the Parlement of Paris, and her financial affairs were far from satisfactory. Nevertheless, the French Government decided to defend the independence of Poland, and to support by force of arms the candidature of Stanislaus Leszczynski. It was easy to get him elected, the difficulty would be to maintain him on the throne. Opposition from Russia and Austria was certain, and it was also probable that

Prussia would join these Powers. Both Russia and Austria had taken deep interest in the affairs of Poland, and were both determined to vigorously resist French interference. They could easily find some means to nullify the election of Stanislaus, while Poland, with no clear policy of its own, and in a state verging on anarchy, could not hope to resist the forces of the two Imperial Powers. Stanislaus himself said: 'The Poles will nominate but will not support me.' He knew that he could not hope to retain the throne unless France supported him, not only by diplomatic means but also by force of arms. In spite of Fleury's pacific assertions and intentions, France decided to adopt the views of Chauvelin and Villars, and place Stanislaus on the Polish throne, hoping thereby to deal a blow at the House of Hapsburg.

The Treaty of Turin, 1733.

Both in Sardinia and in Spain, France hurried on negotiations. In Spain, the

war party carried the day against the peace-loving Patiño; and to the surprise of the Emperor, Charles Emanuel, the young king of Sardinia, consented to admit the French into Italy. On September 26, the League of Turin was concluded between France and Sardinia. The policy of Chauvelin was to drive the Austrians out of Italy; Charles Emanuel was then to occupy the Milanese and Mantua; Don Carlos was to have Naples, Sicily, and the Tuscan ports; Don Philip to have Parma, Piacenza, and Tuscany; while France was to have Savoy. But the King of Sardinia's views did not coincide with those held by Chauvelin. Being aware that the Spanish Court wished to become supreme in the Italian Peninsula, he did not desire to see the Spaniards established in Northern Italy. He declared that they might conquer the Two Sicilies and the Tuscan ports for themselves, and he proposed with French aid

to conquer for himself Lombardy and Mantua.

The Treaty of the Escurial, 1733.

On November 7, the Treaty of the Escurial was signed between France and Spain. It was really a solemn family compact between the two branches of the House of Bourbon, by which they agreed to present a firm opposition to the colonial and commercial advancement of Great Britain, and at the same time to unite against the Emperor. France and Spain guaranteed the possessions of each other; Gibraltar was to be recovered; the exclusive privileges granted to English merchants by Spain were to be revoked; and the combined fleets were to repel any attacks by the British navy. This secret treaty resembled in many points the family compact of 1721 made by Dubois. The object of both was to hinder the commercial expansion of England in Southern America, and the rapid development of the Anglo-Saxon race in the North. During the War of the Polish

Succession, however, the arms of the Bourbons were directed mainly against the Emperor.

Polish Affairs.

In Poland, on the death of Augustus II, the leading man was Theodore Potocki, the Primate, who, until the election of a new king, was *ex officio* Interrex. He was a devoted adherent of Stanislaus, and his first acts were to dissolve the Diet, to dismiss the late king's bodyguard, to order the Saxon guards at the Court to quit Poland, and to post corps of observation along the Prussian and Austrian frontiers. He found supporters in the French Ambassador, in the Czartoryskis, and in Stanislaus Poniatowski, the one capable Polish statesman. Both Potocki and Poniatowski looked primarily to France for aid. On April 27 (old style)—that is a few weeks after Augustus' death—Potocki summoned a Diet, the temper of which was unmistakably hostile to any foreign candidate, and it declared for a 'native Pole, who was a Catholic and

who married a Catholic[1],' and further resolved that no one should proclaim a king without the consent of the Diet, on pain of being declared a traitor to his country. When, however, the Senators and Deputies were called upon to solemnly swear to observe their own resolutions many of them drew back, and Potocki could only overcome their scruples by striking out the clause which forbade the receiving of bribes from the future candidates. Even this apparently did not satisfy every one, for when they were called upon to take the oath the next day, not a few began to raise objections, or make reservations, while others departed from the Diet altogether, with fixed determination of protesting against all its proceedings on the very first opportunity.

No better illustration could be given of the internal divisions in Poland, and this state of affairs provided an excellent reason to other Powers for coming forward as

[1] Nisbet Bain, *Pupils of Peter the Great.*

Russian Policy.

champions of *free* election. In St. Petersburg, directly the news of the death of Augustus was received, an assembly of the Ministry, senate and nobility was held, when it was agreed that the interests of Russia would not permit her to recognize Stanislaus Leszczynski, 'or any other person dependent directly on France (and therefore indirectly on Turkey and Sweden also)'[1], as a candidate for the Polish throne. The Empress Anne addressed a letter to the Interrex Potocki, demanding that the name of Stanislaus should be struck out from the list of candidates, and Count Carl Gustaf Löwenwolde was sent to Warsaw, to reinforce his brother, Count Frederick Casimir, who was the Russian Minister resident in the Polish capital. The brothers Löwenwolde, accompanied by the envoys of Austria and Prussia, waited upon Potocki. The interview was a somewhat stormy one; the Primate's attitude was one of defiance, as he knew

[1] Nisbet Bain.

that the majority of his countrymen were with him, and would resent the interference of Russia or any other Power with their liberties. Next Potocki summoned an Elective Diet, and took measures for securing an absolutely free election by reviving a long obsolete statute, which forbade foreign Ministers to remain at Warsaw during the session of the Diet. The Ministers were naturally indignant; Löwenwolde absolutely refused to leave Warsaw without the Empress's express command, while his Austrian colleague declared that he must await instructions from Vienna.

The Russian and Austrian Candidate.

Although both Russia and Austria strongly opposed the candidature of Stanislaus Leszczynski, neither had, at the outset, a candidate of their own to offer. Both knew that no native Pole except Stanislaus had the slightest chance of being elected, and it became necessary therefore to look abroad. The Infante Emanuel of Portugal was at first proposed by the Court of

Vienna, but as his father, King John VI, would not consent to his nomination, Russia and Austria ultimately agreed to give their support to Augustus of Saxony, the son of Augustus II. A compact was concluded with the Elector by Löwenwolde in the middle of August, 1733, whereby the former acceded to the Pragmatic Sanction, which he had hitherto steadily opposed, contracted a treaty of mutual defence and guarantee with Prussia and Austria, and promised to relinquish Poland's claims to Livonia, leave Courland her ancient rights, and keep inviolate the constitution of the Polish Republic. Russia at once took vigorous steps to support her candidate, and ordered troops to the frontier.

Election of Stanislaus, 1733.

In the meantime, important events were taking place in Poland. On August 26, the Elective Diet met at Praga, near Warsaw. The Lithuanians abstained from attending, and sent a deputation to Potocki, demanding the enforcement

of the decree of banishment pronounced against Stanislaus Leszczynski fifteen years before. As the Primate paid no heed to their demand, the malcontents formed a 'confederation,' protesting against all the acts of the Elective Diet; they were presently joined by 3,000 deputies brought over by Prince Wiesniewicki, and Prince Lubomirski, the Palatine of Cracow, but the majority of electors still remained on the Primate's side. On the arrival of Stanislaus, who had travelled night and day from central Europe, disguised as a coachman, the election took place. The malcontents sent in a protest which Potocki, however, rejected as irregular, as it had not been presented with the usual formalities on the field of election. The Primate rode from group to group, asking the deputies whom they would have as king, and was greeted everywhere with cries of 'Long live King Stanislaus.' After a vain appeal to the patriotism of the malcontents, Stanislaus

was proclaimed the duly elected King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, the malcontents, in their turn, issuing a manifesto declaring the election null and void.

His flight.

Thus, for the second time, Stanislaus Leszczynski was elected King of Poland, at the beginning of September, 1733. But he was to occupy the throne for an even shorter period than on the first occasion. Immediately after his election, he issued a proclamation ordering a *levée en masse* of the gentry; but since he had no forces available to resist the advance of Russian troops from the frontier, he was obliged, only twelve days after his election, to quit Warsaw, and shut himself up in Danzig, with Potocki, Poniatowski, Czartoryski, and the French and Swedish envoys.

Election of Augustus of Saxony, 1733.

On the departure of Stanislaus, a serious riot took place in Warsaw. Löwenwolde's house was plundered, and he had to take refuge in the house of the Austrian

Ambassador. The Saxon Minister's residence was attacked and looted, and the Minister himself had to fly from the capital. Scenes of disorder continued till the end of September, when General Peter Lacy, at the head of a Russian army, appeared on the right bank of the Vistula. On his arrival opposite Warsaw, he was joined by the Polish malcontents, who placed themselves under his protection, and on October 6 Augustus, the Elector of Saxony, was proclaimed King of Poland.

CHAPTER II

THE SIEGE OF DANZIG

(1733–1734.)

Condition of Poland.

ALTHOUGH Augustus had been proclaimed king, affairs in Poland showed no signs of improvement. Almost the whole country was in favour of Stanislaus, who all this time remained in the strong city of Danzig, awaiting help which had been promised by France. He knew that the irregular bands of his partisans could not hope to gain much advantage over the Russian troops, and he was aware also that the invasion of Saxony was the only way to make Augustus relinquish Poland. Without the help of his son-in-law, Louis XV, he knew that he was lost. Russia, on the other hand,

recognized the importance of driving Stanislaus from Danzig, whither help could be so readily conveyed by sea. At the end of 1733, therefore, General Lacy was ordered to proceed to Danzig and to besiege the city without delay. The gallant Irishman immediately obeyed, but before long he realized how he had underrated the difficulties of his task. Having left garrisons in Warsaw and other towns *en route*, he found himself on arriving at Danzig with only 12,000 out of the 20,000 men which he had brought with him into Poland. In order to adequately invest the city from the land side, he had to distribute his men over a large area, being thus exposed to the danger of being attacked and cut off in detail by some fifty thousand hostile peasants. The Danzigers were also determined to offer a strong resistance, being well supplied with provisions and ammunition, and their artillery ably served by French and Swedish gunners. Fortunately for the

Lacy besieges Danzig.

Russian commander, the partisans of Stanislaus outside thought far more of plundering their private enemies than of helping their king; and the garrison took care to keep well behind the ramparts.

Arrival of Münnich.

In the middle of March, 1734, Marshal Münnich arrived and took over the command of the army. He was resolved to press the siege vigorously, and two days after his arrival, a strongly fortified redoubt called 'Scotland' was captured after a hard fight, and on the next day the bombardment of the city itself commenced. But the siege could not be as vigorous as Münnich wished, as he had only some 8-pounders, and the King of Prussia would not allow any artillery to be conveyed through his territories. Münnich bitterly resented the attitude of Frederick William, and is said to have threatened 'to pay a visit to Berlin' after he had done with Danzig. The Marshal, in a letter to the Empress Anne, said that Stanislaus had bought

Attitude of Frederick William.

over Frederick William, who was reported to have said that he could not stand by to see Danzig destroyed, and would send an army 'to mediate.' Indeed, it would have been serious for the Russians had this happened, as they had suffered considerably from want of forage and clothing. After a long delay some mortars arrived from Saxony *by post* addressed to the commander of the Saxon contingent. On April 30, the first bomb was thrown by these mortars into the city, and a week later Fort Sommerschanz was captured, Danzig being thus cut off from Weichselmünde, its port at the mouth of the Vistula. Encouraged by this success, Münnich resolved to follow it up by capturing the Hagelberg, a strong redoubt built on and around a hill on the south of the city, which was the key of the whole position. The attack, which was made on May 9, proved abortive, and Münnich lost 120 officers and 2,000 men. Although a great number of bombs had been thrown

into Danzig, the besieged showed no signs of surrender.

First landing of the French.

At this crisis occurred one of the most romantic incidents in the history of the siege of Danzig. Towards the end of May, the partisans of Stanislaus learnt with delight that Louis XV had decided to send help and that a French force had been landed at Weichselmünde. Their delight changed into dismay when they learnt, two days later, that the French had re-embarked and the fleet sailed away. The force alluded to comprised in all only three battalions of the regiments of Blaisois and Picardy, and was under the command of Brigadier-General de

Lamotte.

Lamotte de la Pérouse, an officer who was 'brave in a fight, but lacking initiative and shirking responsibilities[1].' At Weichselmünde, Lamotte discovered the Russian lines between the coast and Danzig, but after careful consideration

[1] Albert Vandal, *Une Ambassade Française en Orient, sous Louis XV.*

he decided that to attack them without artillery and with only the three battalions at his disposal was absolutely impracticable. Accordingly he decided to re-embark and to sail for Copenhagen.

Comte de Plélo.

At the Danish capital he was very badly received by the Comte de Plélo, the French ambassador. Plélo is described by the French historian, Vandal, as 'a Breton, ex-colonel, poet at leisure, diplomat on occasions, above all a loyal subject and gentleman full of honour.' He was annoyed at the thought that the King's flag, hitherto unknown in the northern seas, should have made its appearance only to be seen in retreat; so he resolved to take back, on his own authority, Lamotte's little force to Danzig, with himself at its head. There was nothing in his instructions to authorize such a step, and the fact of an ambassador leaving his post to go and fight was, as Vandal remarks, without prece-

dent. These considerations, however, did not hinder Plélo's action. To Lamotte he said, 'In the name of the King, your master and mine, and whom I represent, I command you to follow me.' To Louis XV he wrote, 'We shall return to you victorious, or, if we succumb, it will at least be in a way worthy of true Frenchmen and faithful subjects of your Majesty.' Then he embarked with Lamotte and his force and sailed once more for Weichselmünde.

Second landing of the French.

The reappearance of the French fleet came as an unpleasant surprise to the Russians, who thought that Lamotte was returning with large reinforcements. Plélo landed on May 20, and the next day attacked the Russian lines, he himself being with the Grenadiers in the first rank. He captured several earthworks in the outer line of Russian entrenchments, and was gallantly attacking others in the second line when he fell, having received a bullet, a sabre-cut, and fifteen

Death of Plélo.

bayonet thrusts[1]. Deprived of their brave leader, the French hesitated and were beaten back with heavy loss. Lamotte then ordered the retirement of the column, which marched to the island called La Platte, near Weichselmünde, and there remained unmolested for four weeks.

The Russian Fleet arrives.

On June 10 a Russian fleet under the command of Admiral Gordon arrived, bringing to Münnich the siege artillery which he had been anxiously awaiting so long. Gordon had orders to attack the enemy's fleet wherever he found it; but as the French fleet had not deemed it advisable to remain longer at Weichselmünde, he had to content himself with blockading the port, while Münnich, now joined by the Saxon contingent, began a vigorous bombardment of the French force on La Platte. Before long Lamotte capitulated, and was conveyed with his men to St. Petersburg by the Russian fleet. It was the first time in history

Lamotte capitulates.

[1] Vandal.

that the French and Russians had come in contact with one another on the battlefield, and the Empress was 'not a little proud of her novel triumph, although somewhat indignant with the French for provoking a quarrel which had not been of her own seeking[1].' The treatment which the captives received was somewhat curious. Lamotte and his staff shortly after their arrival were compelled to attend the fête given at the Winter Palace in commemoration of their defeat. The Empress, however, seemed to have treated them with kindness otherwise. On that same occasion at the palace, the officers were even allowed to wear their swords in Her Majesty's presence, and they were entertained as guests. The Empress also gave to every common soldier a coat lined with sheep-skin, and every officer one lined with fox-skin, when the weather turned cold[2].

Fleury's Policy.

While the incidents narrated above were

[1] Nisbet Bain. [2] Ibid.

taking place, the King's Council in Paris were discussing the last demands of the Marquis de Villeneuve, the French ambassador in Constantinople. Fleury saw the urgent necessity of relieving Stanislaus, but at the same time he shrank from the decisive action demanded by the occasion. The sending of the three battalions under Lamotte was, in Fleury's eyes, 'nothing more than an expedient destined to calm the impatience of public opinion[1].' He gave out that the little force was merely an advanced guard to an army, which, however, he had not decided to send. This conduct on Fleury's part had an excuse. He thought that the appearance of a large fleet in the Baltic would be regarded by England as a defiance and probably make that Power join the enemies of France. To avoid such intervention, the Cardinal attempted to drag Sweden into the struggle and to induce her to send troops to Danzig. But

[1] Vandal.

Sweden, herself menaced by Denmark, only gave him evasive replies, saying that if Turkey were to commence hostilities, she also might possibly join in. Thus it was seen that the only hope of saving the cause of Stanislaus lay in the co-operation of Turkey. But the Porte refused to move until France had agreed to sign a written declaration assuring the safety of the Ottoman Empire.

Turkey.

Turkey was naturally hostile to Russia, and was afraid of the advance eastwards of Austria. She was well aware of the intention of Russia to attack her as soon as the downfall of Poland was completed, and she knew that she could not successfully resist 200,000 disciplined Russian troops without the co-operation of one of the great European Powers. At the same time it must be remembered that the prestige of France among the Tartar tribes was high, the Khan having in 1730 assured Villeneuve of his readiness to aid France in Poland. It was thus obviously

to the advantage of Turkey to be allied with France, and so able to count on the assistance of the large, if somewhat undisciplined, army the Khan could put into the field.

The Turks refuse to move.

In 1733 Villeneuve urged the Turks to move, but the Porte refused to take action till France declared war against Austria, and made a defensive league with Turkey. Fleury however, being a prince of the Church, was unwilling to make an alliance with the Infidel; and the Turks would not move unless France engaged at least not to make peace with Austria so long as Russia was at war with Turkey, the Porte being fearful of a simultaneous attack by Austria and Russia. Thus, it will be seen that Fleury failed at the outset to grasp the situation, and through his hesitation to treat with the Porte the chances of Stanislaus being relieved became very remote. If the Turkish troops had entered the southern provinces of Poland at the beginning of the siege of Danzig,

there would have been perhaps a general uprising in favour of Stanislaus. The Turks would have found no difficulty in advancing into Poland; the Russians would have had to turn from the shores of the Baltic to face their new enemy; and Danzig might thus have been relieved. The Sublime Porte, following the advice of Villeneuve, had made preparations for a war which was regarded as imminent. Some regular corps were massed in the northern part of Bessarabia, and the Khan had received orders to proceed thither with his Tartar tribes. He arrived at the head of 150,000 horsemen prepared for a fight, and was said to have exclaimed that 'he would not dismount until King Stanislaus was once more in possession of his crown[1].' Thus everything was in readiness, it only remained for France to make the necessary move. 'One stroke of the pen would have added 200,000 more men to the defenders of Stanislaus[2].'

[1] Vandal. [2] Ibid.

Declaration by France to Turkey, 1734.

It was not until after the capitulation of Lamotte, that the Council of the King of France became fully aware of the extreme seriousness of the situation. After six weeks' discussion it was agreed to treat with the Porte, Fleury yielding to Chauvelin and his other colleagues. After due deliberation the French Government made the following written declaration:— 'The King of France, recognizing the justice of the undertaking by the Porte to maintain the Treaty of the Pruth, the liberty and tranquillity of Poland, declares through his ambassador, that he will not enter into a treaty of peace until assured of the safety of the Ottoman Empire.' This declaration, instead of being sent by the route used by Villeneuve's couriers, was sent by boat from Marseilles. The vessel, after having been tossed about in the Mediterranean for forty-six days, arrived at Constantinople on July 10, 1734. But on July 2, Danzig had already capitulated, and Stanislaus had fled into Prussian territory.

Capitulation of Danzig.

CHAPTER III

THE SPANISH CONQUEST OF THE KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES

France and Austria at war, 1733.

If France was unsuccessful in Poland, she was certainly much more fortunate in her campaigns against the Emperor, both in Italy and on the Rhine. In Poland, Augustus of Saxony, by the fall of Danzig, was left practically in absolute possession of the Polish throne, while Stanislaus was now a fugitive in Prussia. One of the first acts of King Augustus III was to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction, in return for the support he received from Charles VI, while he repaid Russia by handing over Courland to be made into a dukedom for Biren, the favourite of the Empress Anna.

In October, 1733, France declared war against Charles VI, on account of the aid given by the latter to Augustus of Saxony, and operations were carried on simultaneously in Italy and Germany.

German rule in Italy unpopular.

In Italy the Austrian rule had never been really popular. The interests of Italy had in various ways been subordinated to those of Austria, and discontent had begun to show itself in Lombardy as well as in the Two Sicilies. The Italian regiments, which had done good service under the Hapsburgs, were disbanded. Under Spanish rule, the gravest judicial cases alone had been referred to Madrid; but under the Austrians, every little case was taken to Vienna. The Italian nobility repaired to the Imperial Court to spend their fortunes, and the German officers saved up their pay, which they spent at home, so that Italy was becoming gradually drained of her wealth. Trade was also on the decline. What seemed, however, to have been felt most by the Italians

was the continual showering of Imperial favours upon the Spanish refugees. Most of the highest judicial and civil appointments, which used previously to be confined to Italians, were now conferred upon Catalans, while those offices still open to Italians 'were practically put up to auction[1].' Impositions were much increased, and their produce withdrawn from the regular revenues and transferred to the privy purse—this also for the benefit of the Catalonian refugees. Yet, in spite of all these evils, there was a very small chance of an uprising, for the people had no leaders. The nobles, who might have led them, 'were fascinated by Imperial grandeur, and captivated by the Imperial titles which they could buy or beg[2].' There was no doubt of the existence of the feeling of discontent, and it was certain that a Spanish force, on its first success, would meet with general sympathy.

[1] Edward Armstrong, *Elisabeth Farnese.* [2] Ibid.

Upon the declaration of war by the three allied Powers, namely France, Spain, and Sardinia, against Austria, hostilities immediately commenced. King Charles Emanuel of Sardinia 'opened the ball'; he received the keys of Milan, and advanced to the Adda, where he was subsequently joined by a French army under Marshal Villars, who appears to have been the hero of both the Spanish and Sardinian Courts, as well as of the Court of Versailles. The French and Sardinians were so successful that by the middle of February, 1734, the whole of the Milanese and part of the territory of Mantua had been conquered. *War in Italy.*

Meanwhile the Spaniards had not been idle. 16,000 Spanish infantry, conveyed by twenty men-of-war, were transported from Barcelona and Alicante to the Genoese coast, while 5,000 cavalry, crossing the Pyrenees, embarked at Antibes for the same destination. This force was under the command of Montemar. On the disembarkation being completed, the Spanish

army marched into Tuscany and established its head quarters near Siena. During these movements, Don Carlos proclaimed himself of age and assumed the government of Parma. Soon afterwards he quitted Parma for Siena, where he took over the command of the Spanish forces. Before leaving the former town, he, 'as if secure of a higher distinction, stripped the ducal palace of the most valuable movables and curiosities[1].'

The Spanish Conquest of the Kingdom of Naples, 1734.

The French and Sardinians hoped that the Spaniards would join them in reducing the Milanese, but in this they were doomed to disappointment. Spain was playing for a higher stake, and had her eye on Naples, which was practically waiting to be conquered. The German régime, as has been already mentioned, had become highly unpopular, and the remnant of the Spanish party had been making earnest representations to the Court of Madrid to

[1] William Coxe, *Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon.*

deliver them from the Austrian yoke. 'An object so tempting, and apparently so easy in attainment, outweighed the general interests of the alliance of which Spain formed a part[1],' and Spain accordingly went her separate way. Villars himself repaired to Siena and conferred with Don Carlos in order to persuade him to act in co-operation with the French and Sardinians, but it was all to no purpose. Don Carlos left his allies to carry out their own plans in Lombardy, and himself marched southwards through the Papal States to the Garigliano. He was received by the Ministers of the Pope with respect, though without the usual honours due to a crowned head. Meanwhile, a squadron under the command of the Count de Clavijo, with 8,000 troops on board, preceded the Infante and occupied Ischia and Procida, and the headland of Miseno. Carlos seemed to expect little or no opposition, for in April news was received of

[1] Coxe.

him from Aquino to the effect that 'he was quietly fishing in the Garigliano[1].' Passing by Capua, he crossed the Valdarna, and concentrated his forces at St. Angelo di Rocca Canina. He issued a proclamation to the Neapolitans in the name of King Philip V, his father, announcing his intention to deliver them from the German oppression, promising to restore to them their privileges, and to relieve them of the taxes imposed since the German occupation. The manifesto was accompanied by a declaration in the name of Don Carlos himself, in which he confirmed his father's promises in general, and asserted his own resolution to establish no new tribunal, either civil or ecclesiastical. This last was necessary in order to assure the Neapolitans that they need have no fear of the establishment of the Inquisition, which they had consistently opposed.

These very fair offers produced a great

[1] Armstrong.

sensation, as might well be expected, among the Neapolitans. To make things even easier for the Spaniards, the Viceroy Visconti, perhaps already foreseeing the hopelessness of the struggle, retired to Rome, and the Austrian generals, Caraffa and Traun, disagreed in their plan of operations. The Imperial position at St. Angelo della Canina was forced by the Spaniards, the Imperialists being driven into Capua and Gaeta, where they were besieged by a portion of the Spanish forces, the rest of which continued the advance towards Naples. At Aversa a deputation from the capital waited upon the Infante, when arrangements were made for the surrender of the city, and all the forts commanding it and the port were occupied by the Spaniards. Don Carlos made his triumphal entry early in May, and read the decree by which King Philip V ceded to him the kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

Occupation of the town of Naples, 1734.

No rest was given to the Austrians.

The Battle of Bitonto.

While Don Carlos was establishing the government of his newly acquired dominions, Montemar followed the Austrian troops to Bitonto, where he forced their intrenchments and utterly dispersed the only army in the field. The battle seemed to have been a great one, for we are told that 'nearly 2,000 men were left in the field, 6,000 taken, with their tents, provisions, and stores, and of the whole body only 400 hussars escaped into the mountains of Calabria[1].' Capua and Gaeta before long surrendered, the latter having been ably defended for several weeks by Traun.

Coronation of Don Carlos.

Don Carlos received the crown at Naples amidst the acclamations of the people, whose delight was unfeigned, for Naples was once more a kingdom, and its capital again a royal court. The whole of Italy indeed had reason to hope that the days of foreign occupation were over, and that the restoration of the balance

[1] Coxe.

of the five Italian Powers which had existed previous to 1494 was imminent. Of the five, only two survived, viz. the Papacy and Venice. Now a new dynasty would take the place of the Aragonese monarchy of Naples. The House of Savoy would succeed to the possessions of the Visconti and the Sforza, while Don Philip, Elisabeth Farnese's second son, would have Tuscany enlarged by the addition of Parma, and perhaps also of Mantua.

The first act of the new King of Naples was to reward the services of Montemar, who was created Duke of Bitonto, and was given a pension of 14,000 ducats a year, with the perpetual custody of Castello Nuovo. To these rewards, the King of Spain added the honours of a grandee of the first class.

Spanish Conquest of Sicily.

There still remained Sicily to be conquered. Even before Capua and Gaeta fell, Montemar, reinforced by fresh troops from Spain, landed near Palermo, where he was at once welcomed as Viceroy of King

Carlos. The Sicilians rose in favour of the Spaniards, and helped them by preventing the concentration of the Austrian troops from the smaller garrisons. Only three fortresses offered any resistance, and Trapani, the last of these, surrendered on June 21, 1735. Carlos himself went over to Sicily and was, on July 3, crowned at Palermo, where the enthusiasm was considerable. Thus, within fifteen months, the kingdom of the Two Sicilies had changed its ruler, and 'the familiar adage was again confirmed that "the kingdom" was light to win and light to lose[1].'

Operations in the north of Italy.

In the north of Italy, while the Two Sicilies were being reduced by the Spaniards, the allied forces of France and Sardinia had also met with much success, though the results were not so decisive. Villars urged Charles Emanuel to undertake the siege of Mantua. This the King of Sardinia was willing to do, provided he was allowed to retain the

[1] Armstrong.

town in return for concessions to France in Savoy. On Fleury replying that Elisabeth Farnese had made its possession a condition of the Spanish alliance, and that he could not therefore promise it, Charles Emanuel declined to advance. Villars thereupon threw up his command in disgust, and was succeeded by Coigny, with whom was Broglie. The old marshal never saw home again, for at Turin he fell dangerously ill and died in the beginning of June, 1734. With him disappeared one of the great names of the past generation.

Course of the Campaign, 1734.

The Emperor did his best to recover the Milanese. An army, under General Graf von Mercy, was sent to attack the Gallo-Sardinian lines at Parma, but it was disastrously defeated and Mercy himself killed. About this time the French troops seem to have been in a terrible state of demoralization, and their depredations in Parma aroused the anger of Elisabeth Farnese, as they were

professedly holding it in trust for her son.

In September there were two actions worth noting. On the 15th the Austrian army, under Graf von Königsegg, crossed the Secchia by night, cut off a piquet at the ford, and attacked Broglie's camp. Taken completely by surprise, Broglie just managed to get away with his men to join Coigny, leaving behind him much baggage. This was the one success to the Austrians during the war. Their triumph was short-lived, for four days later, on the 19th, a battle was fought at Guastalla, resulting in a crushing defeat to Königsegg's army, which had to hurry back once more across the Secchia. Yet, at the end of the fighting season, the Austrians still held the line of the Adda, Mantua remained to them, and reinforcements could still come in from Germany over the Brenner and Semmering passes.

The Siege of Mantua, 1735.

In the following year, the Spaniards, having finished their conquest of the Two

Sicilies, were induced to turn northwards. A Spanish army under Montemar landed on the Tuscan coast, captured Orbitello, and drove the Austrians from the Presidi. The arrogant attitude of the English and Dutch brought about a temporary reconciliation between Spain, France, and Sardinia, and the siege of Mantua was decided upon and undertaken. But here once more was discord. The French under Marshal de Noailles, who had by then succeeded Coigny, did assist the Spaniards in the siege, but the King of Sardinia refused to lend his siege artillery in order to capture a town for the Spanish princes. The siege-train had thus to be dragged up from Leghorn and Naples. Nor was there much danger of Mantua being starved out, for the French blockade was so carelessly maintained, that stores could always be got into the town by a few enterprising Venetian merchants.

Such was the military situation when

Fleury's Peace Negotiations, 1735.

news was received of a nature which surprised every one. Fleury, without having consulted his allies, had suddenly signed the preliminaries of peace with the Emperor. Immediately on receiving the news, Montemar fell back upon Bologna, and then with heavy loss upon Parma and Tuscany, where he was forced to accept an armistice through the mediation of Noailles. Deep was the disappointment of the Spaniards, but the Spanish army could boast of having achieved great things during the two years' campaigning in Italy, and the activity of its movements had been undeniable. The officers openly expressed their contempt of their French and Sardinian colleagues, and perhaps not without reason. 'While the French were pulling rings from women's fingers, and robbing their allies' vineyards, the Spaniards had conquered a great kingdom, and founded a dynasty which was to outlive a century[1].' The campaign had

[1] Armstrong.

been, all through, a very unfortunate one for the Emperor. With the one exception of the victory on the Secchia, his forces had been defeated throughout Italy. Nor was he more successful on the Rhine.

CHAPTER IV

THE RHINE CAMPAIGN

French Successes on the Rhine.

About the same time that Villars started for Italy, another French army marched towards the Rhine, commanded by the gallant Duke of Berwick. He occupied Lorraine and the Electorate of Treves, took Kehl, and finally besieged Philipsburg, where he lost his life. These in fact were the only really important events of the German campaign.

Up to the seizure of Kehl the fighting had, properly speaking, been between the French and Austrians, but after that event things took a different turn. The Emperor appealed for help to the Imperial Diet, which, in spite of Fleury's attempts to cajole it, supported Charles VI, and on March 13, 1734, declared war against France. Thus

the Emperor had an *Imperial* in addition to his Austrian army. This, however, did not make the Emperor as strong as it would appear at first sight, for unfortunately, the Imperial army, 'raised from multifarious contingents, and guided and provided for by many heads, is usually good for little[1].' Some of the rulers even refused their contingents, and protested in the Diet. Another difficulty was in regard to the appointment of commanders. There were always two field-marshals of the Imperial army; one Roman Catholic and one Protestant. The famous Prince Eugene of Savoy, at the time of the declaration of war, occupied the position of Roman Catholic field-marshal, but the other was still vacant. How to fill this vacancy was the question. Duke Karl Alexander of Würtemberg, who succeeded Duke Eberhard Ludwig as ruler, would have been very suitable to succeed him also as Protestant marshal, but unfortunately he had

The Imperial Army.

[1] Thomas Carlyle, *Frederick the Great.*

gone over to the Roman Church, so that there would have been *two* Roman Catholic field-marshals. There were, besides the Duke of Würtemberg, two other candidates for the vacancy, both Protestants, and both claiming the fulfilment of old promises. The difficulty was solved by the King of Prussia, who proposed that there should be four field-marshals, and this suggestion was accepted and acted upon. The above may perhaps afford an illustration of the ineffectiveness of the Imperial organization.

The Prussian Contingent.

Of all the contingents which came to make up the Imperial army, that of Prussia was undoubtedly the best. Frederick William had steadily refused to take any share in the Polish election, in spite of the many good offers made to him on both sides. He would, perhaps, have also stood out of this war between France and the Emperor, had he not been bound by treaty to assist the latter whenever he should

declare war with the consent of the Diet. Therefore the King had orders issued to his army to be in readiness even before the Diet had given its assent, so that by the time it did so the Prussian contingent of 10,000 men was prepared.

At the end of March, Berwick appeared in the neighbourhood of Philipsburg. The Prussian contingent, consisting of three cavalry and five infantry regiments, under the command of General Röder, left Berlin on April 8. Besides the regular staff, there also accompanied the force, or joined it afterwards, as volunteers, many high military dignitaries, including the King himself, and the Crown Prince, afterwards Frederick the Great, whose first real campaign it was.

Philipsburg.

To return to Philipsburg. For defensive purposes a chain of posts was constructed twenty miles away to the south of the town, running from Mühlburg on the bank of the Rhine up to Ettlingen in the hills. These were known as the

'lines of Ettlingen,' and were constructed in a similar way and for a similar purpose to the lines of Stollhofen, the attack upon which had made Marshal Villars famous in 1707. The lines of Ettlingen were held by a small number of Imperial troops, commanded by Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick-Bevern, one of the four Imperial field-marshals.

Success of Berwick.

Berwick, while the force under the command of Belleisle was occupied in reducing Trarbach, crossed the Rhine with his second division well to the south of Philipsburg, intending to attack the lines of Ettlingen and so to arrive at the town. Another division was to cross over a little lower down the river, i. e. nearer Philipsburg, and attack the defenders in the rear. On May 3, Noailles, who had not yet gone to Italy, marched up to Ettlingen and bivouacked at the foot of the mountain. Early the next morning, he ascended with his force in two columns, and issuing from a little wood on the top beheld the eastern

end of the lines of Ettlingen, which he stormed and took without much difficulty. Berwick was on the point of attacking when Noailles came up to report his victory. Duke Ferdinand, perceiving the hopelessness of the situation, collected together the scattered remnants of his troops, and retreated that night unpursued to Heilbronn, where he gave up the command to Prince Eugene, who had just arrived there. On May 13 Philipsburg was invested.

Prince Eugene did not immediately make a move from Heilbronn, but waited for some time for the Imperial forces to gather there. On June 7 the Prussian contingent arrived, and the rest came in by degrees. The field-marshal, when joined by the Prussians, moved down towards Philipsburg and encamped in the rear of the besiegers. Berwick threw up intrenchments which were well manned, to protect his force against the attacks of Eugene, while his guns carried

on a vigorous bombardment of the town. He had one bridge across the river, at the further end of which he placed a battery to shell Philipsburg in the rear. One morning, on paying his usual visit to the various posts along his line, Berwick mounted a hill exposed to the batteries of both sides. While taking observations, a cannon-ball, whether French or Austrian it is not certain, struck his head. Thus perished, five days after the death of his old friend Villars, the cautious French marshal, and the best and bravest of the Stuarts.

Death of Berwick.

Berwick's death did not affect the siege, which was carried on under his successor in command with undiminished vigour. Prince Eugene still looked on and did not make a move. On July 7, the Crown Prince of Prussia and other distinguished volunteers arrived at the Imperial camp at Wiesenthal. In a letter to his father, Frederick spoke of fascines and hurdles being made to be used in one of two plans

Frederick of Prussia.

of action. The first plan was to attack the French intrenchments, and the second, 'to amuse the enemy by a false attack, and throw succour into the town.' Neither of these plans, however, was carried out. The day after his arrival (July 8) the Crown Prince went out reconnoitring, and on this occasion showed admirable coolness and courage. Herr von Suhm, the Saxon Minister at Berlin, in the preface to his volume of *Correspondence*, described this incident and spoke of the Prince in glowing terms. 'The cannon-shot from the lines,' wrote Suhm, 'accompanied him incessantly, and crashed down several trees by his side; during all which he walked his horse along at the old pace, precisely as if nothing were happening, nor in his hand upon the bridle was there the least trace of motion perceptible.' Suhm was not himself with the Prince, but the anecdote was supplied him by the Prince von Lichtenstein, who was probably an eye-witness.

Arrival of the King of Prussia.

On July 15, King Frederick William of Prussia arrived at Wiesenthal. Prince Eugene invited him to lodge at head quarters, but the king declined the invitation, preferring a tent among his own people. Even here in camp, Frederick William did not altogether escape diplomatic business. The Empress of Russia sent a message threatening that unless Stanislaus was given up, Münnich would come across the frontier to seize the fugitive. The King of Prussia returned a diplomatic but firm answer, refusing to comply with this request. He was likewise approached on the same subject by Austria, and returned the same answer. Neither at this time nor afterwards did Frederick William yield either to Austria or Russia in the matter of delivering up the refugee. He remained 'deaf as a doorpost alike to the menaces and the entreaties of Kaiser and Tsarina[1].'

Frederick William remained a month

[1] Carlyle.

with the army. Both he and Frederick attended all the councils of war, but the result of these meetings seems to have been nothing, for no attempt was made to relieve Philipsburg, which, after a stiff defence of six weeks, capitulated on July 18.

The year 1734.

After the fall of Philipsburg, nothing of very great importance took place during that year (1734). The French proceeded to repair the town without being molested, and there were no really important engagements. Frederick, writing in later years, said he thought the French lines would not have been difficult to take, and in fact seemed to have thought that, in case of an attack, the defeat of the French was probable. But Prince Eugene, now but a mere shadow of his former self, did not put too much trust in the very mixed force under his command, and would not make the attempt. He was now old, being seventy-three years of age, and, as Carlyle says, 'a good deal wearied with the long march through Time,' and this possibly accounts

for the strictly defensive policy he saw fit to adopt.

About the middle of August, Frederick William left, his health having suffered much during the month's campaigning. The Crown Prince, however, still remained and moved about with the camp. There was a good deal of manœuvring on both sides, which was not productive of any result worth noting. In October Frederick returned to Potsdam, having passed through his military apprenticeship with credit.

The year 1735.

The next year, 1735, was even less productive of military events, although the Emperor, to quote Carlyle once more, 'does exert himself to make a campaign of it.' In April, Lichtenstein arrived in Berlin from Vienna with three requests to the King of Prussia: '(1) That, in addition to the ten thousand troops due by treaty, His Majesty would send his Reichscontingent. (2) That he would have the good-

ness to dismiss Marquis de la Chétardie, the French Ambassador, as a plainly superfluous person at a well-affected German Court in present circumstances. (3) That His Prussian Majesty do give up the false Polish Majesty Stanislaus, and no longer harbour him in East Prussia or elsewhere.' All three demands were refused by Frederick William, especially the two latter, which he considered as 'something notably high on the Kaiser's part, or on any mortal's, to a free sovereign and gentleman[1].' However, he sent back the original ten thousand, with a troop of hussars in addition, to aid the Emperor in the coming campaign. The Crown Prince, though himself eager to return with the contingent, was not allowed to go, for in truth Frederick William did not entirely approve of the war, which he considered to be the result of meddling with somebody else's affairs.

[1] Carlyle.

Prince Eugene did no more in 1735 than he did the year before. The only noteworthy action was fought by Seckendorf, one of Eugene's lieutenants. At the head of 30,000 men, he marched towards Trarbach, in the interior Moselle country, and gained a small success over the French army under Belleisle at Klaussen. Another event worth mentioning was the appearance of a Russian army in those parts. As a result of an appeal from Austria, the Empress Anne, having settled the affairs in Poland, ordered General Lacy to proceed to Germany with a force of 20,000 men. After a tedious march of two months, the Russian army joined the Imperial forces on the banks of the Neckar. This was the first time that a Muscovite army had ever appeared in Central Europe, and 'the strict discipline and perfect order of the Northern barbarians excited some surprise and not a little admiration[1].' Lacy, how-

Arrival of the Russians, 1735.

[1] Nisbet Bain.

ever, came too late to render any real assistance. A month after he had gone into his winter quarters at Pforzheim, peace negotiations were opened between France and Austria.

Fleury decides to make peace, 1735.

It was the general outlook that induced Fleury to sign the preliminaries of peace. He was afraid of England and Denmark joining the Emperor, and was aware that negotiations had been carried on for some time past between Charles VI and Patiño, who, representing Elisabeth Farnese, had been endeavouring to obtain the hand of Maria Theresa for Don Carlos. Fleury also knew he could not trust Sardinia, as the King had already divulged the terms of the Treaty of the Escurial to the English Government. The Cardinal therefore deemed it advisable to come to terms with the Emperor. On October 5, 1735, the preliminaries of the treaty between France and the Emperor, known as the Third Treaty of Vienna, were signed, though the definitive treaty

was not concluded till November 18, 1738.

Terms of Peace.

The preliminaries contained the following clauses:—

(1) Don Carlos to have the Two Sicilies and the Tuscan Presidencies.

(2) The King of Sardinia to have Novara and Tortona.

(3) The Emperor to hold Parma and Piacenza.

(4) France to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction.

(5) Stanislaus Leszczynski to renounce his claim to the Polish throne, but to receive the Duchy of Lorraine during his lifetime, as soon as the Grand Duke of Tuscany died; Lorraine to revert to France on the death of Stanislaus.

(6) The Duke of Lorraine to receive Tuscany on the death of the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

Close of the War.

Thus ended the war between France and the Emperor, a war of successes for the former and of disasters for the latter.

Many perished during the war on both sides. On the French side, two marshals, Villars and Berwick, died within five days of one another. On the Austrian side, among those who died was the veteran Mercy, the most enterprising of all the Imperial generals during the whole of the Italian campaign. The great Eugene hardly survived the Rhine campaign, for he died on April 21, 1736, less than a year after the cessation of hostilities. And yet the war, which claimed as victims those mentioned above, cannot in a military sense be called either a great or a glorious one.

CONCLUSION

Anger of Spain.

THE news that the preliminaries of peace had been signed was received in Spain with great indignation, for it was considered as a slight on the country by France. Elisabeth Farnese, who had always disliked the French, naturally joined in the outburst of feeling against them, and once more she contemplated a close alliance with England. She was bitterly disappointed at her failure to bring about the marriage of Don Carlos to Maria Theresa, and at the postponement of her schemes in Northern Italy, declaring that Spain had been duped by France. Charles Emanuel was also very indignant, and refused to accept Fleury's explanation of what he called French perfidy. The fact of the preliminaries having been signed did not mean an

immediate adjustment of all difficulties, for throughout 1736 Northern Italy remained in an unsettled condition; but on May 18, 1736, Spain acceded to the preliminaries, and the Third Treaty of Vienna was finally ratified in 1738, thus closing the War of the Polish Succession.

The Third Treaty of Vienna finally ratified, 1738.

In this war, Charles VI, though his armies had suffered so many crushing and humiliating defeats, had not been altogether unsuccessful. The Polish throne was occupied by the candidate whom he had supported, and the Pragmatic Sanction had been guaranteed by Louis XV and Augustus III. Lorraine, it is true, was lost, but its Duke, who had married Maria Theresa in February, 1736, had obtained Tuscany, which was added to the Emperor's possessions. Charles VI had been forced to relinquish the kingdom of the Two Sicilies and the Tuscan ports, but he had got back Parma and Piacenza, and thus had consolidated his dominions in Italy.

Austria after the war.

The Bourbon Powers.

France and Spain were undoubtedly the greatest gainers by the war. By securing the reversion of Lorraine, France had gained an acquisition of immense value; while Spain had not only conquered for herself a great kingdom in Southern Italy, but had also shown to Europe that her soldiers, when led by a capable general like Montemar, had lost none of that courage and skill in war for which they had been so famed. Although there were various circumstances which caused a temporary coolness between France and Spain, the union of the two branches of the House of Bourbon became very apparent to the world, and, till the French Revolution, was a source of anxiety to English statesmen.

Russia.

Another country that succeeded in making its importance felt in Europe was Russia. Her alliance with Austria had proved of incalculable value, especially as regards Poland, where both Powers were eminently successful in carrying out their

schemes. Russia in this instance, though acting in concert with Austria, had the more important rôle to play, and played it well. Her statesmen claim—and they certainly have a right to do so—that Austria would have come out of her French war even worse than she actually did if Russia had not taken entirely into her own hands the suppression of the rebellious elements in Poland and the pacification of that country. The appearance of a Russian army, for the first time in European history, on the banks of the Rhine, undoubtedly did much to hasten the conclusion of peace. In fact, Europe now realized that Russia had indeed emerged from the state of semi-barbarism in which she had hitherto been supposed to dwell.

Brandenburg.

The war also illustrated the growing coolness between the Courts of Berlin and Vienna. Frederick William had sent a force of 10,000 men to join the Imperial army on the Rhine, it is true, but then

he was obliged to do so by treaty. He was much irritated at the course of events in Poland; all through the peace negotiations he had been entirely ignored, and he declared that he had been deserted by Austria and Russia. Austrian statesmen, on their part, had seen in the rising Electorate of Brandenburg the rival of their own State, and the events of the years 1733 to 1735 seemed to justify their apprehensions. The end of the war found the relations between Frederick William and Charles VI very strained.

Italy. The war was for Italy peculiarly important, for the map of the Peninsula was now entirely changed; Naples and Sicily were joined together under a Spanish prince, and the young kingdom of Sardinia took its place as one of the important States.

Poland. As for unfortunate Poland, she was on the road to decline, and her fall became a mere question of time. Sweden, the one friend from whom she could expect

any aid, was herself decadent, whereas her neighbours, Prussia and Russia, were both rising Powers, and the alliance between the Courts of Vienna and Petersburg still remained as firm as ever. Her sun was set—she was destined to remain an embarrassment and temptation to her neighbours, and the War of the Polish Succession proved the first step towards the Partition Treaties.

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